1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15

ply xipa'. The names of two women will illustrate the indirect reference of the remainder; one is named "invisible," referring to the clouds; another, "winding," referring to the wild gourd vines; both clouds and wild gourd being among the xipa' totems. Thirty-one men belong to this sib, but only one has a totemic name.

The sib name thus serves as an auxiliary designation for all the women of a sib. Some women have no other personal name. More specifically it is a common term of address used by a man's relatives for his wife. For example, Mrs. Redbird of kwĭtk,ĭ'l,[a] sib has the personal name nĭk,ĭnk,ĭ'k, "iridescent green" (referring to the totem lizard), but is called kwĭtk,ĭ'l,[a] by her husband's sister. This has its counterpart in the bestowal of a nickname on a husband by his mother-in-law or someone of his wife's family.[36]

The feeling is marked among these people that all the Yumans have one sib system. That particular sibs of their own are not present in other tribes is a matter of no moment: that, they would say, is due to the fact that what we are here calling sibs are to them single lines of descent, and it is but natural that some lineages are not found in other tribes. What impresses them is that everywhere on the Colorado there are patrilineal lineages, within which the women alone are designated as pertaining to the lineage, and which function exogamously. They are conscious of a system; that details differ is immaterial.

The feeling for the system is very strong. They equate the patrilineal sibs of the Pima, or rather their moieties, with their own sibs, although the basis of Pima organization is different. All the local families derived from Pima paternal ancestors are reckoned in the sibs xipa' and l,eω'c. They object violently even today to allowing their daughters to marry men of sibless tribes; the children would have no sib affiliation. Naturally, it is quite permissible for men to do so. There are several cases in the present generation of women who have married Indians from California. No attempt was made to assign these men to particular sibs, hence

[36] The Yuma situation also differed from that of the Mohave. Yuma sibs had definite names; these served as women's names, but the women also had personal names which referred indirectly to the totems. The Yuma differed from the Maricopa-Halchidhoma in that the sib name regularly substituted for the personal name in later life (Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, pp. 142–47, 149).

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829 less names, three of them grouped in one moiety, two in the other. The moieties are called Vulture (buzzard), Red People, or Red Cow-Killer, and Coyote, White People, or White Cow-Killer.[42] My informants did not know why those of Pima ancestry were classed invariably as either xipa′ or l,eω′c. They knew only that the part Pima of xipa′ sib say that their sib refers to the coyote. The reason is, however, transparent: since Maricopa-Halchidhoma xipa′ refers to the coyote, l,eω′c to the buzzard, the Pima married into the Maricopa community have been equated by their moiety affiliation with the local sib system.[43] (This raises the question, incidentally, whether the essential Pima unit is not the moiety rather than the sib.)

[609] [614] [563]

162 614 The relative numerical strength of the sibs, as checked from an allotment list of 1915, is as follows: xipa′, 83; l,eω′c, 55; cĭkâma′, 21; xavâtca′c, 16; sala′l, 14; cĭnyikwĭ′s, 12; kwĭtk,ĭ′l,ᴬ, 12; xamitu′tc, 9; cŭkâpa′s, 9; pakĭ′t, 5; kwŭcᴬku′, 1; l,âmu′c, 1; tŏxpa′s, 1; xĭlyi′, 1 (total 240). Kŭmâθi′ and mavĭ′s are extinct; the latter, at least, may never have existed. Since tŏxpa′s and xĭlyi′ are repesented only by women, they too are about to be extinguished. My informant Last Star believes that xipa′ and l,eω′c were the largest sibs in earlier times as they are today.

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614 [611] While all the members of a sib were regarded as in some sense related, it was recognized that there were several distinct lines of descent within it, between which blood relationship could not be established, or at least was not definitely known. Hence people of one's own sib, not relatives, were not called by kinship terms. The terms in use were "friend," kiyi′ (used between men) and ciyi′ (when one or both persons were women). So also a man might marry in his mother's sib anyone not related to her by blood. On the other hand, marriage to a non-relative of one's own sib was prohibited.

[601]

There seems to have been no preferred marriages between par-

[42] Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 197; Parsons, *Notes on the Pima*, p. 455; Lloyd, pp. 147, 163; Gifford, *Clans and Moieties*, p. 174.

[43] It is interesting to note that my informant remarked that "the Pima say tcĭk,ă′vâ (man's cross-cousin) for cimu′l (sib)." Parsons found that the Pima referred to the moiety by the term that is used for cross-cousins (*op. cit.*, p. 456).

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Maricopa
Halchidhoma
Yuma

TABLE VI—*Concluded*

551 614 168	tlĭkx'.....	top-heavy	Childhood name: because as he walked he nodded his big head.	Halchidhoma
	tlnyĭmkwànau'....	night [is] a good runner		
169	matàxa'kwinyuwĭ'c.	wind owner		Halchidhoma
170	sŭmĭ'kwictĕ'và.....	tying downy feathers		Halchidhoma
171	tcie'nàkwŏtkwi'nà..	following a bird		Halchidhoma
		SIB: cŭkàpa's		
		Women		
*172	tŏtkàva'k.....	coming back and forth	Refers to the movements of red ants. Kutox says it refers to the tracks of deer going to and fro.	Yuma
*173	màtn,iθi'.....	coming toward each other	Refers to the red ants.	Yuma
		Men		
*174	cuθŭ'l,ᴬ.....	hiding	Refers to red ants, whose nests are difficult to find and destroy. Kutox says the one who named this man meant the deer hiding.	Yuma
175	tcienàtŏp.....	bird-throw		Yuma

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

*601 [171] The Maricopa kinship system closely resembles that of all other Yuman tribes in the stress laid on age distinctions among brothers and sisters and their descendants. It goes farther than most in the systematic way in which these distinctions are carried out in terminology. Add to this that brothers and sisters are called brother and sister only when full brothers or sisters, or when derived from the same mother, but not when they have only a father in common. The general impression is one of be-

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wildering complexity, yet it is clear that they operate with a few simple principles. 601

The word "system" is quite legitimately employed for this body of kinship designations. It became quite clear that the Maricopa themselves think of it as a well-defined system. Thanks to my interpreter, Mrs. Redbird, it was possible to enquire systematically into the relationship of every person in the collateral lines derived from common greatgrandparents. She needed to know no more than the sex and relative ages of the siblings from whom the lines were traced to give without hesitation the terms used between any pair in the succeeding generations to no matter what degree of remoteness. She was frankly operating with a system. Every one of the usages obtained from her was checked and cross-checked, and in nearly every instance her first response was found to be correct. Not so her mother, an old-time Maricopa of nearly sixty, who, her daughter told me, could never tell what her relatives of even slight remoteness were called. Obviously, individual interest in the subject varied widely. [829] [115] [124] [183]

It is important to note that the kinship system bears no relation whatever to the sib system; kinship groupings do not follow sib lines. [602] [614]

The essential principle of the system is that the relative ages of brothers and sisters are given terminological expression, and the terms for their descendants hinge on this. These distinctions appear at every point, yet the curious thing is that age distinctions between siblings have no social existence. Neither I nor my interpreter, with whom I repeatedly discussed the matter, could find any feature of social life which might give rise to this. It may exist, but Mrs. Redbird's opinion was that the terminological distinctions existed only for their own sake. 601 561

Coupled with this basic principle is the fact that half-brothers and half-sisters are considered brother and sister, but only when children of the same mother.[46] The classification of parallel cous- 601

[46] By implication this may also be true of the Yuma and Mohave, but not of Cocopa, Kamia, and Northern Diegueño (Gifford, *Californian Kinship Terminologies*, p. 62; Kroeber, *California Kinship Systems*, p. 341). Terms given for paternal and maternal half-siblings among Yuma and Mohave are identical with those recorded here for the Maricopa. It may therefore be that these Colorado [184] [171]

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[601] ins follows from this, but only in part. True enough a father's brother's children and a woman's mother's sister's children are called brothers and sisters when the father and his brother or the mother and her sister are half-siblings by the same mother. But instead of calling these parallel cousins brother and sister as well when the parents are full brothers and sisters, they use special terms for them.

[611] The reason for considering half-siblings as full siblings when derived from the same mother but not from the same father is inexplicable, especially in face of the marked patriliny prevailing otherwise in their social structure. Obviously, with different fathers these children may have belonged to different sibs, hence the blood-bond here overrides sib affiliation. Informants were wholly at a loss to find any correlated social function. It seems that it must be correlated in some way which I do not understand [606] with the importance of the two mothers-in-law in determining the relation of their child's spouse to their own families, to the [587] function of the mother-in-law in supplying a woman of her own family to the widower son-in-law, and to the attitude of considering women as essentially the carriers of patrilineal sib affiliations; but the clue to their interrelation is lacking. It might be thought to be based on a belief that a woman alone was concerned in conception, the man's part being secondary. But nothing of the sort developed in a long discussion of the relation of conception to dreams nor in the many other opportunities when it might have come out.

Sex, on the other hand, is not an important basis of classification. The speaker's sex does make a difference, to be sure, but rarely that of the kinsman addressed. It is partially ignored between brothers and sisters and with cousins of one's own generation. It is practically ignored in one's children's generation, and does not figure at all in the generation of grandchildren and greatgrandchildren.

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[171] River tribes reckon half-siblings as full siblings when the bond is through the mother, but we are not told so. Similarly it may be that this blood bond figures in the classification of parallel cousins, as it does in Maricopa, but these authorities are also silent on this point.

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Mother's and father's kinsmen are distinguished among uncles, aunts, and grandparents. But the two lines are merged for all kin more remotely related: greatgrandparents, granduncles and -aunts, and their descendants. Correspondingly, distinctions are minimal among the descendants of one's son and daughter. 601

Within the immediate family, men and women employ the same term for mother but not for father. Correlatively a man has separate terms for his son and daughter, a woman a single word for her children. A father's father is differentiated from a mother's father and a father's mother from mother's mother; corresponding to this a son's children are distinguished from a daughter's children. Greatgrandparents and greatgrandchildren are brothers and sisters, but curiously it is the senior generation that is called younger brother and sister.[47] The father's siblings are distinguished from the mother's siblings. The father's brother and the mother's sister are distinguished as older or younger than the corresponding parent. The relative ages of father's sister and mother's brother have no terminological expression, but are taken into account in the terms for their children, the cross-cousins.

Brothers and sisters are classed as elder sibling, younger sister, and younger brother. Parallel and cross-cousins are called brothers and sisters under certain circumstances. When a father's brother and the father are half-brothers by the same mother, the father's brother's children are termed siblings. Similarly a mother's sister's children are siblings when the parents are half-sisters by the same mother, but the latter seem to hold for a woman speaker alone. Otherwise parallel cousins are called by special terms, differing for the two sides of the house. Cross-cousins of the opposite sex are brother and sister, those of the speaker's own sex are known by special terms, but the difference between father's and mother's kinsmen is ignored.

Although age distinctions are made among all siblings, these are partially ignored in the designation of their children. A man distinguishes his older and younger brother's children, a woman

[47] This may rest on the same notion that has the first born of twins the younger, because a younger person, they say, alway goes first.

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601 her older and younger sister's, but for children of siblings of the opposite sex the distinction is ignored. A man's younger brother's child and a woman's younger sister's child are called by the same term; otherwise separate terms are used for each nepotic category. This, of course, correlates with the age distinctions among father's brothers and mother's sisters, and their absence among father's sisters and mother's brothers. The children of parallel and cross-cousins, and of cousins of the speaker's generation in the collateral lines, are classed with the appropriate nephew-niece group, regardless of whether the cousins are called brothers and sisters or by special cousin terms. The grandchildren of cousins are classed with grandnephews and grandnieces.

The collateral lines are merged with the line of direct descent. The avuncular relatives of the speaker's parents are grouped by sex alone without regard to the side of the house they are on, as we say granduncle and grandaunt. But the children of these granduncles and grandaunts, that is the parents' first cousins, are classed with the father's brother (older or younger) and sister or the mother's sister (older or younger) and brother according as they are related through the father or mother. Their children in turn are classed with the parallel and cross-cousins and the two succeeding generations fall in the categories of nephew-niece and grandnephew-niece. Those of the collateral cousins of the speaker's generation who are equated with cross-cousins are called by cross-cousin terms, but those who are equated with parallel cousins are called siblings. This is true of the speaker's actual parallel cousins only in certain circumstances to be discussed below.

These statements regarding collateral relatives are based on specific inquiry concerning terms applied to each and every relative stemming from the speaker's greatgrandparents. A few collateral cousins in the speaker's generation and some of their children were inadvertently overlooked, but since these cases are random and the remainder of the cases conform to the general statements immediately above, I see no reason for assuming any nonconformity here.

The age distinctions among parallel and cross-cousins are made, not on the basis of the relative age of the cousin and the speaker, but on the relative age of the speaker's parents and their brothers and sisters. This correlates with the classification by the speaker of father's or mother's first cousins as older or

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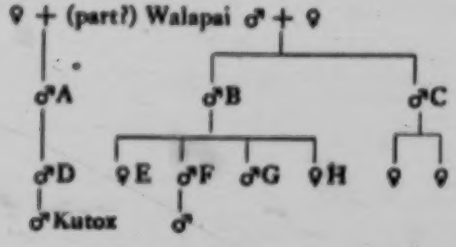
Maricopa

younger parents' siblings according as the parents call them (i.e., their cousins) older or younger brother or sister. The children of these parents' first cousins (i.e., the cousins of the speaker's own generation in the collateral lines) are accordingly older or younger siblings of the speaker depending on the assumed relative ages of their parents with the speaker's parents. The general principle then is to equate all relatives in the collateral lines with those of the direct line, preserving the horizontal stratification of generations, and making the age distinctions in one's parent's generation and one's own according to the relative ages of the connecting relatives in the grandparents' generation. With these collateral cousins of one's own generation it does not matter whether the connecting relatives are full or half-siblings. 601

As an illustration: a man's father's father's sister is cĭn,ȧkĭ'ş regardless of whether she is older or younger than the paternal grandfather. But this woman's son is nȧvi' (older paternal uncle) or n,iku'ş (younger paternal uncle) like a true father's brother, depending on whether she is older or younger than the paternal grandfather. And again this son's son, in the speaker's own generation, is ĕndjĕ'n (older sibling) or ȧcu'tc (younger brother) according to the same relative ages.

As illustrated by the genealogy below: Kutox's father D could not have called F dŏkŭmi'k (father's brother's child) because D's father and his brother were not full brothers. Instead he called him ȧcu'tc (father's younger brother's son) because A was older than B. Kutox called F and G n,iku'ş (father's younger brother), "because their side was younger," and their sisters, E and H, nȧbi' (father's sister). These brothers called Kutox yĕck,iwa' (a man's older brother's child) and their sisters used mĕnȧpi' (a woman's brother's child).



An alternative term, kiyi', "friend," is used by a man for certain of these collateral cousins of his own generation (but not for

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601 his first cousins). These are cousins whom he calls older and younger brother; the children of his parents' cousins who figure as father's brothers and mother's sisters. There is an exception, however; it is not used for the cousins derived from his father's mother's sister or his mother's father's brother. On its face this implies that the excepted lines of descent are more closely related to the direct line than the others, but the reason is obscure. The [576] word is also used as a term of greeting to a non-relative, when the speakers are both men. The corresponding form is ciyi', used by two women, or when addressing an acquaintance of the opposite sex.[48] These are the terms used between members of the same sib when they are not blood relatives.

Relatives by marriage are grouped so that all women married to the men of one's own family are called by the same term (unyi', the wives of a brother, son, grandson, and of the parents' brothers, and with them the step-mother). This corresponds to the practice of all members of the family, but especially the women, calling these wives each by her sib name. The same stem appears in the single term applied by a woman to her husband's family (Inkunyi',[49] his siblings, parents, grandparents and his children by another wife). Corresponding to this we might expect a man to use one term to designate members of his wife's family, including his step-children, but this does not occur. He groups some of his wife's relatives (her brother and grandparents) with some of the husbands of women of his own family (his sister's and granddaughter's husbands). A woman also calls her granddaughter's husband by this term (ucu'). A man's step-child is kitca', a step-father the same (ᵃn,ąkĭ'tc); corresponding to unyi'c for step-mother and a woman's step-child, but without

[184] [48] Kiyi' as an alternative for brother has an analog in Yuma, Kamia, and Cocopa. Where in Maricopa greatgrandparents and greatgrandchildren call each other siblings, in the tongues named these relatives call one another kiyi and siyi (Gifford, *Californian Kinship Terminologies*, pp. 62, 65, 67). Further, kiyi is used between males, siyi between male and female or between females, exactly as in Maricopa.

[49] This may be I-n,ą-k-unyi'; n,ą-, the first person possessive prefix. This is borne out by Mohave: Maricopa unyi' and Inkunyi' are covered by unyi-k in Mohave (Kroeber, *California Kinship Systems*, p. 342).

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the extension of that word. (However, these words also mean a man's sibling's grandchild and grandparent's brother.) Reciprocal usage accounts for the same stem in son-in-law (ĭṇgwaxl,-âau'â) and wife's parent (ĭnxĭl,âau'), but it is not clear why the wife's parents are not grouped with her other relatives. The sororate accounts for another exception: the words for wife's sister (ĭnyahwĭ') and a woman's sister's husband (ĭnkwĭnyâhweya') are similar.[59] The levirate is not reflected in any analogous way. It will be observed that the grouping of relatives by marriage does not follow sib lines. There are no terms in use between the parents of a couple, for a parents' sister's husband, nor for step-siblings. They are not related. While some of the cousins of the collateral lines in the speaker's generation are called brothers or sisters, their spouses are not called by brother- or sister-in-law terms. The wives among them are called by the names of their sibs.

One feature of some western systems is absent here, namely, the change of a term on the death of the connecting relative. However, after the death of a husband or wife, the terms for their relatives are dropped: they are no longer related.

Verbal reciprocity is only weakly developed. The following reciprocals occur:

nâvi', father's older brother
nâpi', father's sister
nâgwo', maternal grandfather

nâkĭtc, grandparent's brother, step-father
cĭn,âkĭ's, grandparent's sister
ĭnxĭl,âau', wife's parent
ĭnkunyi', husband's parent, husband's sibling, husband's grandparent, a woman's step-child
ĭnyahwĭ', wife's sister

dŏkxămi'k, a man's father's brother's child

vĕta', a man's younger brother's child
mĕxâpi', a woman's brother's child
xaxgω'g, ŏxko', a man's daughter's child
kitca', a man's sibling's grandchild, a man's step-child
âkĭ's, a woman's sibling's grandchild
ĭṇgwaxl,âau'â, son-in-law
unyi', son's wife, brother's wife, grandson's wife, step-mother

ĭnkwĭnyâhweya', woman's sister's husband

[59] They are probably more nearly alike than they are written; this was not checked. Together they are cognates of Mohave inyahuvik, wife's sister and woman's sister's husband (*ibid.*).

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Maricopa
Halchidhoma

601 dŏkpâsi'ɲk, a woman's father's brother's daughter
čstcuma'vâ, mother's sister's child
tcĭk,ă'vâ, a man's male cross-cousin
ĭlya', a woman's female cross-cousin

It is noteworthy that all the terms of the parental and grandparental generation carry the possessive prefix, nâ-, n,â-. [193]

184 601 The Halchidhoma kinship system is identical with that of the Maricopa, except for slight phonetic differences, according to Kutox and Mrs. Redbird. As an example, the latter cited Halchidhoma mĭʀâpiga' for Maricopa mĕʀâpiya'. They may have meant, however, nothing more than that the terms and their use for close relatives are the same. Whether all the connotations are the same was not enquired into.

601 In the following list of Maricopa terms, the extensions into the collateral lines are not given, i.e., the classification of descendants of the grandparents' siblings. These are summarized above.

nâpau'	father's father
nâgwo'	mother's father
nâmau'	father's mother
nâk,iu'	mother's mother
nâkĭ'tc, n,âkĭ'tc, n,âkica'	grandparent's brother, step-father
cĭn,âkĭ's	grandparent's sister
n,ĭko"	a man's father
čnâ'ai'	a woman's father
'ntai	mother
nâviya' (vocative), nâvi' (non-vocative)	father's older brother
n,iku's, ĭn,iku's	father's younger brother
nâbiya' (vocative), nabi' (non-vocative), nĕbi'k	father's sister
čnâsi'c, nâsi', nâsiya'	mother's older sister
n,âmuyi'c, nâmuya'	mother's younger sister
nâgwi'c, nâgwiya'	mother's brother
ʒavi'klc	"two [of us]", sibling (probably non-vocative)
matʒacâvâva'k	siblings (more than two; probably non-vocative)
čndjĕ'n	"straight," older sibling; father's older brother's child; a man's father's older sister's and mother's older brother's daughter; a woman's father's older sister's and mother's older brother's son; a woman's mother's older sister's child, when the mother and her sister had the

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	same mother; greatgrandchild (all grandchildren's children) (čndjĕ'n kuxaŏk was recorded for elder brother in a myth; from kwuxaŏ'k, "old man.")
čndja'.....	younger brother (but ácu'tc is regularly employed for parallel, cross, and collateral cousins)
ácu'tc.....	a woman's younger brother (seldom used); a man's or woman's father's younger brother's son; a woman's father's younger sister's and mother's younger sibling's son; greatgrandfather (all grandparents' fathers)
čnyŏka'.....	younger sister; father's younger brother's daughter; a man's father's younger sister's and mother's younger brother's daughter; a woman's mother's younger sister's daughter, where the mother and her sister had the same mother; greatgrandmother (all grandparents' mothers)
yŏvâk,au' or matia'vâk,aug..	half-sibling by the same father (When half-siblings have the same mother they call each other by the above brother and sister terms or tâvâa'l,l'c, "tied together.")
dŏkxâmi'k.....	a man's father's brother's child and a woman's father's brother's son when the father and his brother are full brothers
dŏkpâsi'nk.....	a woman's father's brother's daughter, when the father and his brother are full brothers (When they are half-brothers by the same mother, the father's brother's children are called by brother and sister terms.)
čstcuma'vâ.....	mother's sister's child (But this term was used by a woman only when her mother and her mother's sister were half-sisters by the same father, otherwise she used brother-sister terms for them.)
tcîk,ă'vâ.....	a man's father's sister's and mother's brother's son
îlya'.....	a woman's father's sister's and mother's brother's daughter
kiyi'.....	"friend" (used between male strangers); used alternatively for čndjĕ'n and ácu'tc (older and younger brother) in the following cases: a man's father's father's sibling's son's son, his father's mother's brother's son's son, his mother's father's sister's daughter's son, his mother's mother's sibling's daughter's son
ciyi'.....	"friend" (used between strangers where one or both are women, but the word is not used as a kinship term for collateral cousins)

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●60/

ɣumai'.....	a man's son
vîtci'.....	a man's daughter
sâ'auwi'c.....	"issue," a woman's child (no specific terms for son and daughter)
yĕck,iwa'.....	a man's older brother's child; a man's parents' older sibling's son's child (It makes no difference with this and the following terms whether the father and his brother were full brothers.)
mĕnâpiya' (vocative), mĕnâpi', mĕnâpi'k (non-vocative)...	a woman's brother's child; a woman's parents' sibling's son's child
vâna' (vocative), vani'c (non-vocative).....	a man's sister's child; a man's parents' older sibling's daughter's child; since this also means a man's mother's younger sister's daughter's child and his father's younger brother's daughter's child, it probably means a man's parents' sibling's daughter's child
ĕn'ω', ĕnᴬω'.....	a woman's older sister's child; a woman's parents' older sibling's daughter's child
vĕta', ĕvĕta'.....	a man's younger brother's child; a woman's younger sister's child; a man's parents' younger sibling's son's child; a woman's parents' younger sibling's daughter's child
auwâ'.....	son's child
xaɣgω'g, ŏɣko'.....	daughter's child
kica'.....	a man's sibling's grandchild
âkĭ's.....	a woman's sibling's grandchild[21]
n,ave'.....	wife
huða'vâ.....	"partner," wife
akoi'.....	"old woman," wife when older
tavi'k, mataxavi'kĭk.....	co-wife (i.e., a woman speaking)[22]
n,ikwiaâŏ'k.....	husband[23]
kwuaâŏ'k.....	"old man," husband when older
Inxĭl,âau'.....	wife's parent
Iŋgwaxl,âau'â.....	daughter's husband
Inkunyi', Inkun,iya'.....	husband's parent, husband's brother, husband's sister, husband's grandparents, a woman's step-child

[21] The field-notes at one point give kica'and âkĭ's as vocative and non-vocative forms with this meaning, but I think rather that these are man's and woman's terms, corresponding to the forms for the grandparents' siblings.

[22] The word contains the stem ɣavi'k, "two."

[23] Although the word looks suspiciously like that for "old man," Mrs. Redbird said it does not mean this. She distinguished the following term, "old man," for a husband when older.

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unyi', unyi'c, un,iya'.....	son's wife, brother's wife, grandson's wife, father's brother's wife, mother's brother's wife, step-mother
kitca'.....	a man's step-child
ucu'.....	a man's sister's husband, his son's (and daughter's?) daughter's husband, wife's brother, wife's grandparents, a woman's daughter's (and son's?) daughter's husband
Inkwinyahweya'.....	a woman's sister's husband
Inyahwi'.....	wife's sister

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE

The curious feature of Maricopa marriage is that its apparent informality belied a strictly formulated social configuration that resulted from it. Marriage ritual was lacking except for a purely formal test of housewifery. Despite the rigid control of their choice by the parents of the young couple, the mating seems casual enough. Nevertheless, the movement toward the union once initiated by the young people themselves, their relation to the two families becomes increasingly fixed in a rigid mould.

Marriage possibilities were limited by blood relationship and sib exogamy. A man could not marry any known blood relative of either parent regardless of sib affiliation, nor any woman of his own sib. Hence he could marry an unrelated member of his mother's sib. I was several times informed that he could not marry either parallel or cross-cousins (although his parents' several nieces were not members of his sib except by chance).

My aged informant denied that young men went courting: the most he would admit was that during night dances some would play their flutes at a distance to attract girls. Yet I received strong intimations elsewhere that young people made their own choice. There was at least no open courting, even through the intermediacy of a friend in the Pima manner.[54] While their elders might insist on industry and good temper as sufficient qualifications, young people were also interested in handsome mates. Good looks are not easily defined: I was told at least that one should have long thick hair and that girls as well should be broad in the hips. In a reference to beautiful women (axo'tk, "beauty,"

[54] Cf. Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 183.

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173 602 Maricopa, visiting him, found him slain by the Yavapai. They thought they had best flee so that they would not be accused of his murder. One Maricopa, however, insisted on carrying off one of the bags, thinking it contained the much desired miner's shovels. The others crowded around him, ingratiatingly calling him "uncle" and by other kinship terms. When they opened the bag, they found that what had felt like shovel blades were only the stiff, flat tails of the beaver. So they thought it a joke on him and pushed him about.

●601 184 They did not refer to father's and mother's kinsmen in the Mohave manner as on the right and left respectively,[63] but a simple reference to "on the man's side" (ipa'gâwŭ'm) or "on the woman's side" (sĭn,âŏ'kâwŭ'm) would be fully understood.

[63] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 749.

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845 apply only to twins as children, for aged Kutox told me he had twin younger brothers, the one surviving being now an old man.

J——, his older sister told me, is said to be from the village of twins. At birth he was so tiny they did not think he would survive. When he was four he was hardly bigger than a baby of six months. His mother took him to all the shamans, who could do nothing. Finally she applied to one married to her mother's sister. He declared he had seen this boy in his dreams. He directed, "Bring the boy, and let him stay a month if he likes me." The old shaman told them to give the boy everything he wanted, which they did. The old man gave him a horse. When the boy wanted a new horse, he would say, "Take the old horse back," which meant that the shaman should give him a colt, which he did. J—— is now a strapping six-footer of thirty.

A curious point was that the first born of twins was called the younger. The reason given was that one always let a child, a younger person, go through a doorway first. The twins called [601] each other in this fashion younger and older brother.[1] It was absolutely necessary that some such decision be made, considering that age distinctions figure at every turn in the kinship system.

163 Plural births other than twins were unknown to my informants. Mrs. Redbird knew of three cases of twin births among 845 people now living, a number which might have been predicted in a population of less than three hundred. Twins were called xavŏ'kc, "two."

847 It is difficult to tell how frequently abortion was practiced in the old days: it is common enough today. A cloth was tied tightly around the abdomen, draughts of a boiling hot tea made of iciu' (a plant growing near the river) were taken, and the constricting process repeated until the embryo was killed. (My informant had never heard of pressing the abdomen on a rock.)

854 The cradle was prepared before the baby was born. Women [462] gathered the materials for it because they knew best what the size should be, but men always put the frame together since they could lash it more tightly. Various women might prepare its several parts, which were assembled by some older woman of the family. It was distinctly preferred not to use a cradle that had belonged to some other woman. A cradle might be kept for the successive use of one's own children, or one gotten from a near

[1] This explains why twins in the myths are called older and younger brother.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
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539[x] him." The two sisters told the boy that their father was the one who had invited those three tribes to kill the boy's father and his uncle.

When he learned this, the boy made a hole in the ground just large enough to fit his face. He lay there with his face in the hole and cried until his tears filled it. When the first hole was filled, he made another and filled that too. He made a third and filled that too. Then he made a fourth and filled that too. Then he rose, saying, "What is the use of lying here crying, filling all these holes? A woman does this because she can not go anywhere. But I am a boy: if I start out and find my grandmother, I will learn about these happenings from her."

Before he set out, he came to the place where his father and uncle had been cremated. He thrust an arrow far into the ground and moved it around. When he pulled it out, he drew out the twins. When the father saw the little boy, he looked him right in the face; then hung his head. The uncle too looked at him full-face and said, "Poor younger brother's son (vâti'), if they had not set us up on the pole and let the blood drip, we could get up now and look after you. But since our bones are scattered we are too weak to get up. For this reason, we are going back." His uncle told him that his grandmother made her home in the west, but he did not know where she had gone after their death. But she was probably there fixing her old belongings. The boy said he would go, following their tracks to reach his grandmother.

He set out, leaving his mother and aunt. When he came to the place where the house formerly stood, he found the old woman had been there. Then she had gone to the northwest. The boy followed and overtook her. He stood in front of her. The old woman wondered who this little boy could be. They stood looking at each other for a while: then she knew it was her grandson. The boy then sang:

mawa' mawa' na'ma mawau'â[38]

Then the old woman sang too. She recognized him.

[38] Mawa' was said here to mean "grandmother," possibly by license of song from nâmau', father's mother.